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RECORD OF POLITICAL EVENTS.

[From May 1 to November 5, 1893.]

I. THE UNITED STATES.

1. NATIONAL AFFAIRS.

FOREIGN RELATIONS.—The arbitration on the seal fisheries question has by its conclusion fixed finally the principles on which that long-discussed problem is to be settled. Mr. Carter, of counsel for the United States, whose argument was in progress at the opening of this RECORD, finished his address May 2, and was followed by Mr. Coudert on the same side. For Great Britain Sir Charles Russell spoke from the 10th to the 31st of May, and Sir Richard Webster from June 1 to June 7. After arguments by other counsel the pleadings were closed with the address of Mr. Phelps for the United States, covering the sessions from June 22 to July 8. The decision of the arbitrators was delivered August 15, and the court then dissolved. The cases of the respective parties fell under two heads: (1) the question as to the jurisdiction of the United States over sealing outside the three-mile limit; (2) the joint regulations necessary to preserve the seals in case the United States was not accorded the sole jurisdiction. Under the first head the court was required to answer the five questions proposed in the treaty of arbitration (see this QUARTERLY for June, 1891, p. 367). Here the United States put main stress on the fifth question and argued as follows: The law of nations is substantially identical with the law of nature, which itself is founded on the moral sense of mankind. This moral sense condemns the extinction of any species of animal life that contributes largely to the satisfaction of human desires. The fur seal is such a species, and the hunting of this animal on the high sea during the breeding season tends strongly to its extinction. Pelagic sealing, therefore, is contrary to the spirit of the law of nations, and the protection of seal life is demanded by that law. But by whom should that protection be given? The fur seal is not *feræ naturæ*. Its habits are such that a determined territory can be pointed out as its home, which it never leaves save with the *animus revertendi*. So certainly are the Pribyloff Islands the home of the herd involved in this controversy that a great industry has been built up on this fact and an elaborate system has been devised to insure that the animals shall continue to be available for the good of man. These circumstances stamp the herd with all the characteristics of private property and the United States, therefore, has the right to protect the seals against

all who threaten the herd with destruction, whether the protection is demanded on the land of their *habitat* or in the sea to which they resort temporarily for food. Against this line of argument the British counsel urged that the law of nations is in no sense identical with the law of nature, but consists merely of rules that have been formulated by the definite agreements of nations, and that no rule in relation to seals has been so formulated; that pelagic sealing is not shown by the evidence to be so destructive as is alleged; that the fur seal is clearly *fera natura*, and not distinguishable by its habits from many other species of migratory animals, in respect to which a claim of property rights by the owner of land to which they temporarily resort for breeding would be ridiculous; and finally, that the assertion of a right of the United States to exercise jurisdiction on the high seas beyond the three-mile limit over citizens of other nations violates one of the most clearly established principles of international law. On the question of regulations, the United States demanded such as should render pelagic hunting practically impossible; Great Britain, merely such as should keep the industry under a moderate degree of restriction. The decision of the court adopted the British view as to jurisdiction and in general the American view as to regulations. On the five questions as to jurisdiction, the judgment was (1) that Russia, having in 1821 claimed jurisdiction over Behring Sea for 100 miles from the coasts of her territory, abandoned that claim in treaties with the United States and Great Britain respectively in 1824 and 1825, and from that time up to the sale of Alaska to the United States never claimed or exercised jurisdiction beyond the ordinary limit; (2) that Great Britain did not recognize any claim of Russia to exclusive jurisdiction over the seal fisheries beyond the ordinary limit; (3) that Behring Sea was included in the term Pacific Ocean as used in the treaty of 1825; (4) that all rights of Russia in the seal fisheries in Alaskan waters passed to the United States by the treaty of cession in 1867; (5) that "the United States have no right to the protection of, or property in, the seals frequenting the islands of the United States in Behring Sea when the same are found outside the ordinary three-mile limit." On (3) and (4) the court was unanimous; on (1) and (2) Senator Morgan dissented; and on (5) the senator was joined in dissent by his colleague, Justice Harlan. The joint regulations for pelagic sealing agreed to by the court included the following: The absolute prohibition of the business within sixty miles of the Pribyloff Islands; a close season from May 1 to July 31 for the high sea north of 35° north latitude and east of the 180th meridian of longitude and the water boundary of Alaska as defined in the cession treaty; the prohibition of the use of any but sailing vessels in the business, each vessel to have a special license and to furnish its government with accurate records of its work; the prohibition of the use of nets, fire-arms or explosives in pelagic sealing, except shot-guns outside of Behring Sea. The court further recommended that the two governments undertake to stop sealing on both land and sea

for a year or more. The regulations as a whole lacked the assent of both the American and one of the British arbitrators, though the objections of these members were not to the same points. As it was decided that the Canadian sealers had a right to pursue their business on the high seas, it became the court's duty to fix the damages sustained by them through the suspension of their business under the *modus vivendi*. The decision on this point has not yet been announced. The claims for damages for seizures of so-called "poachers" by United States vessels prior to the *modus vivendi* are to be settled through the regular diplomatic procedure. — **The Hawaiian situation** has remained practically unchanged throughout the six months under review. Manifestations of sentiment in the islands for and against annexation to the United States and for and against the restoration of royalty have given rise to incidents of ephemeral importance, but the key to the situation was held by Commissioner Blount, who, appointed to the position of United States minister, May 10, threw a decisive influence against every movement likely to disturb the *status quo*, while avoiding every act that would commit the United States to any definite policy save that of protecting its citizens and excluding the influence of other foreign powers. Mr. Blount returned to the United States August 15 and made his report to the Department of State, but the contents of the report have not been made public. — **The extradition treaty with Russia** was promulgated by proclamation of the president, June 5.

THE SILVER QUESTION. — On June 5 President Cleveland publicly declared his purpose to call an extra session of Congress to meet in the first half of September for the consideration of the country's financial conditions, which seemed critical. On the 26th of June the authorities of India closed the mints in that empire to the free coinage of silver. The signs of a panic immediately multiplied and four days later appeared the president's proclamation summoning Congress to meet in extra session August 7. The call was based on the "perilous condition in business circles," which was declared to be largely the result of "a financial policy . . . embodied in unwise laws, which must be executed until repealed by Congress." The issue of this proclamation was the signal for much excitement among the Populists and in silver-producing circles. **Silver conventions** were held in Denver, July 11, and in Chicago, August 2, in which addresses were made and resolutions adopted denouncing with much energy any proposition to repeal the Sherman Act without some provision for the free coinage of silver, and claiming that the existing financial crisis was a deliberately devised scheme of British and American bankers, with President Cleveland as their ally, to bring about the exclusion of silver from use as money. The president's message, presented to the houses August 8, brought **the question before Congress**. The message embodied an exposition of what Mr. Cleveland considered the evils of the Sherman Act, concluding with an earnest recommendation

that its purchase clause be immediately repealed. While still holding that tariff reform was imperatively demanded, the president considered that it should be postponed to action on the silver law. In Congress the silver men, without reference to party lines, took an attitude of energetic resistance to any project for unconditional repeal of the purchase clause. Conferences between the various factions led, however, to an arrangement in the House of Representatives by which the whole question should, after due debate, be determined by a direct vote. On August 11 a bill was introduced by Mr. Wilson, of West Virginia, repealing the purchase clause, but renewing the pledge to maintain the parity of gold and silver coin at the existing or some other ratio. At the same time an order of procedure was adopted, providing for a debate of fourteen days, to be followed immediately by voting, first on amendments establishing free coinage at the present ratio and at ratios running up to 20 to 1, then on the proposition to revive the Bland Act, and finally on the Wilson Bill itself. This program was carried out and the votes were taken August 28. All the amendments were rejected, those proposing free coinage by majorities ranging from 140 on the 17:1 ratio to 101 on the 20:1, and that reviving the Bland Act by a majority of 77. The bill was then passed by a vote of 240 to 110. In the Senate much more serious difficulty arose in seeking to carry out the policy recommended by President Cleveland. The Democratic majority were unable to agree upon a measure which should unite the silver and anti-silver factions. The former insisted upon opposing unconditional repeal of the Sherman Act's purchasing clause. After much caucusing, with unsatisfactory results, Senator Voorhees, chairman of the finance committee, at last introduced a repeal bill, August 18, with a "parity" pledge in more verbose form than that of the Wilson Bill, and with a recommendation of bimetallist policy for the government. The silver men immediately submitted a substitute proposing free coinage of silver at the ratio of 20:1, and on these propositions debate was opened. When the Wilson Bill came up from the House it became the formal subject of the discussion, but no agreement could be reached as to when a vote should be taken. Various plans were suggested for a compromise between unconditional repeal and free coinage, but the attitude of the administration was steadily hostile to any such idea. On the other hand, suggestions as to the introduction of some form of closure in the Senate met little favor. On October 11, when it had become pretty clear that there was a majority for unconditional repeal, Mr. Voorhees asked for a continuous session till a vote should be taken, but after a session of nearly forty hours, occupied by speeches by the silver men and calls of the house, a quorum could no longer be obtained and the Senate adjourned without voting. Attention now became concentrated exclusively upon the possibility of either compromise or closure. While propositions looking to the latter alternative were under serious and heated discussion, a scheme of compromise that proposed making the date of repeal twelve or eighteen months in the future and coining in the interval

all the silver purchased, was accepted by the silver Democrats, and seemed likely to secure enough support to unite the majority party, when the authoritative announcement that the president did not approve the scheme turned the current and the project failed. Thereupon the Democratic silver Senators reluctantly gave up the struggle, October 23, and the remainder of the opposition acknowledged the hopelessness of preventing a vote. The final speeches of the debate were made, the various amendments were voted down by majorities averaging about ten, and on October 30 the Voorhees Bill, having been substituted for the Wilson Bill, was passed by a vote of 43 to 32. The substitute was accepted by the House, 192 to 94, and became law by the president's approval, November 1.

INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION.—**The drain upon the Treasury's gold reserve** continued during May, and the net reserve at the beginning of June was only \$89,939,217. The situation improved considerably during the course of the summer and by August 10 the figure had increased to \$103,863,290. In the fall the tendency again changed and according to the statement of October 21 the net reserve was \$81,700,000, the lowest on record.—A change of policy in the **purchase of silver** under the Sherman Act was introduced by Secretary Carlisle June 12. The law required the purchase of 4,500,000 ounces per month, "or so much thereof as may be offered at the market price." The Treasury had followed the policy of regarding the lowest price at which bullion was offered as the market price. Secretary Carlisle, finding that this lowest price was frequently higher than the quoted prices in New York and London, adopted the practice of making bids based on those quotations and refusing to accept silver at higher rates. As a consequence the total purchase for July and August fell considerably short of 4,500,000 ounces per month. The secretary defended his policy at length in a letter of October 4 in response to a resolution of inquiry by the House of Representatives.—A report of the condition of the Treasury, October 19, showed a great falling off in revenues for the past three months as compared with the estimates, so that the same rate for the year would give a deficit of \$50,000,000. But since the business situation had been so exceptional during the time concerned, the secretary did not consider that a trustworthy forecast for the year was possible.—The enforcement of the **Chinese Exclusion Act** of May 5, 1892 (see this *QUARTERLY*, VII, 765) was not undertaken seriously by the administration. By the terms of the act all Chinese laborers who had not registered themselves by May 5, 1893, were subject to arrest and deportation. Less than 20,000, out of more than 100,000 in the country, had registered at that date. On May 4 Secretary Carlisle, on the ground of inadequate resources for carrying the law into effect, ordered Treasury officers to refrain from making arrests under the act. On the 25th, after the Supreme Court had sustained the constitutionality of the act, the secretary, in another circular, while continuing in force that of May 4 so far as it applied to Chinese who

had failed to obtain certificates of registration, enjoined particular activity in the enforcement of those provisions which reenacted the old legislation. The federal judges generally found grounds on which to avoid applying the penalties for non-registration, and the net result of the act seems to have been the deportation of a single Chinaman in August from San Francisco. Some hundred or more who had been seized were held in prison pending their appeals to the Supreme Court on the question of their right to the *habeas corpus*. These were released upon the passage of the new act in November (see below, p. 776).—A decision made by the secretary of the interior, May 27, instituted an important **change in pension policy**. Under a ruling of the preceding administration disabilities under the Dependent Pension Act of 1890 had been assimilated in rating to like disabilities of service origin, so that any disability which, if of service origin, would have been rated at over \$12 per month, was rated at \$12, the maximum allowed by the act of 1890. In considering a case in which \$12 had been allowed under this act for "slight deafness," because \$15 was the minimum for such disability of service origin, the department declared the earlier ruling untenable. It was held that disabilities under the act of 1890 could not be treated like those of service origin, because an entirely different standard was introduced by that act. Disabilities of service origin were ratable by law regardless of the ability of the pensioners to work, while the act of 1890 referred only to such disability as "incapacitates them from the performance of manual labor in such a degree as to render them unable to earn a support," and directed that the rates should be proportioned between six and twelve dollars according to the degree of such disability. The decision then declared that the earlier ruling had superseded the law, and that the practice of disregarding in the ratings the degree of inability to perform manual labor was illegal. As a result of this decision, and stimulated by the discovery of considerable frauds by pension agents in several parts of the country, a thoroughgoing revision of the lists of pensions under the act of 1890 was inaugurated. It was announced that the maximum rate would not be allowed to any one who was able to do any manual labor, and notices were sent to pensioners whose records did not show *prima facie* evidence of total disability, suspending their pensions and giving them sixty days in which to bring the requisite proof, with the alternative of being dropped from the list. On the 6th of August the time within which proof could be presented was extended to October 10. By the end of August between seven and eight thousand pensions had been suspended, but on the 31st, on the ground that in some cases injustice had been done, Commissioner Lochren ordered a modification in the practice, so that suspensions should be made only on *prima facie* evidence that the pensioner is not entitled to any rating whatever. The policy of the office was changed in another particular by abolishing the practice of giving precedence in the adjudication of claims to those falling under the act of 1890.—**In the Indian Bureau** the contract for the purchase of the

Cherokee outlet was signed May 17, the price being \$8,595,736.12. The preparations for opening the territory to settlement were not completed till September 16, on which day, at noon, the thousands of intending settlers who had long been assembled along the borders were permitted by the troops to enter the land. The rush for eligible claims repeated and even exaggerated the scenes which have attended the opening of the other portions of Oklahoma territory. An important change of policy was denoted by President Cleveland's appointment in June of twenty army officers to fill vacancies as Indian agents.—In the matter of **the civil service**, the policy of the new administration has revealed no easily distinguishable difference from that previously followed. The total number of changes in fourth-class post-offices, up to July 4, was 8,956, against 11,100 in the corresponding four months of President Harrison's term. In the consular service, on the other hand, changes had confessedly been made at a more rapid rate than under the previous administration. The secretary of the treasury put in force, July 1, a series of regulations defining a system of promotion in the department service based on records of efficiency and on examinations, either competitive or non-competitive. The pressure of office seekers upon the president became too strong for his patience by May 7, and on that day he issued an order setting forth with considerable distinctness the annoyance he felt at the personal importunities of applicants who came to be presented by Congressmen, and declining for the future all personal interviews with applicants save when he invited them of his own motion.—The following **appointments to office** have been made: Minister Plenipotentiary to Persia, Alexander MacDonald, of Virginia; to Hawaii, James H. Blount, of Georgia, and later A. S. Willis, of Kentucky; to the Netherlands, W. E. Quimby, of Michigan; to Bolivia, C. H. Taylor, of Kansas; to Italy, J. J. Van Alen, of Rhode Island. Assistant Secretary of State, Edwin F. Uhl, of Michigan; First Assistant Postmaster General, Frank H. Jones, of Illinois; Assistant Attorney General, Holmes Conrad, of Virginia; Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, W. B. Hornblower, of New York (not yet confirmed). In response to the action of Germany and Italy in raising the rank of their ministers at Washington to that of ambassador, the president nominated our ministers at Berlin and Rome to be ambassadors.

CONGRESS.—The **extra session** opened, pursuant to the call of President Cleveland, August 7. The organization of the House of Representatives (for the organization and committees of the Senate, see last RECORD, p. 378) was effected by the reelection of Mr. Crisp as Speaker, and of the other Democratic caucus nominees for the lesser offices. The speaker announced the committees, August 21, with the following members as chairmen of the most important: Wilson of West Virginia, Ways and Means; Sayers of Texas, Appropriations; Bland of Missouri, Coinage, Weights and Measures; McCreary of Kentucky, Foreign Affairs; Culber-

son of Texas, Judiciary ; Springer of Illinois, Banking and Currency. Most interest was excited by the assignment of Mr. Wilson to the head of the Ways and Means Committee, thus superseding Mr. Springer as leader of the majority, and by the retirement of Mr. Holman from his long service as senior Democratic member of the Appropriations Committee. The Rules of the House were adopted September 6. The only important questions in connection with the rules were, first, as to the quorum in committee of the whole, a proposition to make the number a hundred instead of a majority of the House being rejected ; and, second, as to filibustering, where the matter was settled by giving the Committee on Rules full control in the matter, as in the last Congress, and further, authorizing the committee to sit while the House is in session. — **The work of the House**, outside of that touching the silver question, described above, included the repeal of the federal election laws, October 10, and the passage, October 16, of a new Chinese Exclusion Bill, defining more exactly the classes to which the last act applies, closing up some avenues of evasion that had been discovered, and extending for six months the period within which laborers may register and obtain certificates. The Ways and Means Committee began in August the preparation of a tariff bill. — **In the Senate**, little was done up to the close of this RECORD beyond the discussion of the silver question. A vote was secured on the status of the persons appointed senators by the governors of Montana and Washington, where the legislatures had failed to elect. On the ground that such failure did not create a vacancy within the meaning of the constitution, it was decided, August 28, by a vote of 32 to 29, that the governors' appointees were not entitled to seats. A bill to authorize national banks to issue notes up to the par value of government bonds deposited was discussed at length, but could not be brought to a vote. This bill was officially approved by Secretary Carlisle, as a safe method of relieving to some extent the financial stringency. The Chinese Exclusion Bill was passed in the form in which it came from the House, November 2. The extra session ended by adjournment on the 3d of November.

THE FEDERAL JUDICIARY. — In the Chinese Exclusion Law cases, May 15, the supreme court held : That the political department of the federal government has authority to expel aliens who have taken no steps to become citizens, even though they are subjects of a friendly power, and have acquired a domicile in this country ; that Chinese laborers have no right to remain in this country, except by permission of Congress ; that the provisions of the act of May 5, 1892, with reference to registration and deportation, do not contravene the constitutional requirements as to due process of law, trial by jury, and cruel and unusual punishments ; and that an act of Congress prevails as against any earlier treaty in conflict with it. — On an application by the United States district attorney for an injunction to prevent the Columbian Exposition at Chicago from opening its gates on Sundays, because the act of Congress appropriating money to aid

the exposition had contained the condition of Sunday closing, it was held by the circuit court of appeals in that city, June 17, that the United States had no such proprietary or possessory interest in the exposition as would warrant interference with or responsibility for its administration, and that Sunday opening involved no such injury to property, or invasion of civil rights, or irreparable injury without redress at law, as is necessary to the exercise of chancery jurisdiction. The order of the lower court granting the injunction was, therefore, revoked.

THE FINANCIAL CRISIS. — The period under review opened in the midst of widespread unsteadiness in financial conditions, with securities on the down grade and pronounced stringency in the money market. During May and June there was no improvement, though at the same time, with the exception of the National Cordage Company, whose fall started the disturbance, and minor concerns outside the financial centers, there were no failures on a scale to lead to a general crash. But the announcement, June 26, that India had stopped the free coinage of silver was followed by an enormous drop in the price of silver bullion, which touched the lowest point ever recorded, the prices of stocks went down in sympathy and by July 1 all the phenomena of a panic were visible. In the mining states of the West the mines were promptly closed, bringing paralysis upon all the leading industries of those regions, and throwing out of employment great numbers of workingmen, who became, especially in Denver, Colorado, a burden on the community and, until facilities were furnished for their transportation to other states, a source of some danger. The banks of the West and South began to give way everywhere under the strain of the money famine, and all over the country manufacturing concerns were forced into bankruptcy, or at least into a suspension of production. Relief to some extent from the pressure for money was found in all the financial centers except Chicago through the issue of clearing-house certificates. The New York bankers began to employ this expedient as early as June 29, and during the summer the total of the certificates issued by them reached the sum of \$38,280,000. Boston banks issued \$11,045,000 and Philadelphia, \$6,000,000. During the latter part of July an evidence of the general distrust and panic appeared in a remarkable dearth of currency. Hoarding was practiced to such a degree that the banks could not secure sufficient cash to meet the ordinary current demands, and were obliged practically to suspend cash payment of depositors' checks. In the early part of August bank and treasury notes commanded a premium of as high as four per cent in New York. By the middle of August the worst of the panic was over and signs of returning confidence began to appear. The premium on currency dwindled away and vanished in the first week of September. Many banks and factories resumed business, though almost invariably, in case of the latter, with reduced wages for the employees. Foreign investors began to send in money to take advantage of the exceedingly low price of stocks, and a less despondent tone pervaded business circles. The banks were able

to call in their clearing-house certificates, though the last of New York's great issue was not redeemed till November 1. Up to the close of this RECORD, however, there was no very pronounced reaction toward prosperity, the uncertainty in respect to silver and tariff legislation being alleged as reasons for the continuing distrust. A most striking characteristic of the panic in general has been the immunity of the great financial centres from overwhelming disasters. Only a single private banking firm of the first rank succumbed in New York City, and but one national bank. Of the 301 bank suspensions from May 1 to July 22, ninety-three per cent were in the Southern and Western states. Some idea as to the dimensions of the crisis may be obtained by the statistics of commercial and industrial failures as compiled by *Bradstreet's*. Failures, April 1 to July 1, 1893, 3,170, with liabilities of \$131,436,078; July 1 to October 1, 4,935, with liabilities of \$153,227,546. The corresponding figures for 1892 were: failures, April to July, 2,144; July to October, 2,027; with liabilities respectively of \$20,673,872 and \$20,436,250. Of bank suspensions the total for the year up to September 1 was 549, of which 151 were national banks. At least twenty per cent of the embarrassed institutions were able to resume business as the panic subsided. Three great railway systems were forced into the hands of receivers during the period under review—the Erie, July 25, the Northern Pacific, August 15, and the Union Pacific, October 13.

2. AFFAIRS OF THE STATES.

ELECTIONS.—The closeness of the results in **Rhode Island** in April and the constitutional provision requiring an absolute majority instead of a plurality to elect officers, led to a deadlock in the legislature in May. The Senate was Republican and the House Democratic. By the constitution the two houses were required to meet in grand committee to choose the governor and other state officers in case of a failure to elect in the popular vote. The Senate, objecting to steps taken by the House to insure a Democratic majority in the grand committee, refused to unite with the House for the elections. After a period of wrangling without result, the governor adjourned the legislature till January and continued in office for want of a successor. The only legislation effected was a joint resolution for submitting to popular vote an amendment to the state constitution making a plurality sufficient for a choice in all elections.

VARIOUS LEGISLATION.—On July 1, the Evans Law in reference to the sale of liquor went into effect in **South Carolina**. By its provisions, the liquor traffic became a state monopoly, and, under the supervision of state and county boards, dispensaries were established where alone liquor should be procurable. The law embodies regulations as to the quality of the liquor to be dealt in and the profit to be made on its sale, and prescribes severe penalties to insure that none but the official establishments shall carry on the business. There was much confusion at

first in getting the law into operation, and much passive resistance on the part of the old licensed dealers, but Governor Tillman displayed great energy in its execution. Legal difficulties that arose were in general successfully met, though several sections of the law have been declared unconstitutional by inferior state courts. In September, the state authorities came into controversy with United States officers over a quantity of liquor brought into South Carolina in violation at once of the state and of federal law. On this issue a case has been carried to the United States Supreme Court. — In **Kansas**, the superintendent of insurance put in force, May 23, with a very strict construction, the law recently passed prohibiting any person, agent or corporation not resident in Kansas from placing insurance on property within the state. The reason for the law was that the companies, in cases of disputed claims, were accustomed to carry trials to the federal courts, and the intention was to force the companies to have resident agents, so that the basis of the transfer of the trials should be removed. A number of projects of socialistic character have been reported as under favorable consideration by the Populist administration in Kansas, among others, an employment bureau under governmental conduct, and various railway enterprises. The absence of legislative authorization seems to have prevented the realization of these plans, which are to be brought forward at the next session of the legislature. — The act of the last legislature in **Minnesota**, providing for a great grain elevator at Duluth under governmental management, was rendered practically inoperative by an opinion of the state attorney-general in May, to the effect that the money for building the elevator must come out of the profits of the business done. This interpretation of the law aroused much ill-feeling among the Populists. — The supreme court of **Michigan**, October 24, declared unconstitutional the law passed by the last legislature permitting women to vote at municipal elections. It was held that the constitution did not confer the franchise on women, and the legislature had no right to confer it.

THE RACE PROBLEM. — The relation of the races in the South has been brought into prominence by an apparently steady increase in both the number and the barbarity of lynching incidents. The last summer was characterized by a perceptible increase of lawlessness everywhere in the country, due probably more or less to the financial crisis. Mob executions were by no means confined to the South (a conspicuous case occurred in Denver in July), but that section was responsible for a great majority of such incidents, and in almost all cases the victims were negroes. The offense in the majority of the cases was attempted or successful rape of a white woman. Statistics of cases reported in the newspapers for the year up to September 1 show a total for the country of 142 persons lynched, of whom 129 were lynched in the South, 110 of these being negroes. The first twenty days of September produced twenty-four deaths by lynching in the South, only one victim being a white man. The only case in this section in which the authorities seem to have adopted anything like

adequate measures to enforce the law occurred at Roanoke, Virginia, September 20. Here a mob, attempting to take from jail a negro who had assaulted and robbed a white woman, was dispersed by the militia after a fight in which eight persons were killed and over twenty wounded. On the following day, however, when the soldiers had disbanded, the negro was seized and hanged and his body burned, while the mayor and many militiamen were obliged to leave the place till the resentment of the populace had subsided.

THE TRUSTS. — The Whiskey Trust (Distilling and Cattle-Feeding Company) was greatly weakened by the withdrawal, May 20, of five of the most important concerns in the combination. It was said by officers of the withdrawing companies that one cause of their action was the anticipation that the legal proceedings against the trust under the federal law would prove successful. — The process of winding up the Standard Oil Trust on the plan agreed upon in March, 1892 (see this *QUARTERLY*, VII, 379), had resulted by September 13, 1893, in the retirement of \$60,295,000 of the trust certificates out of a total of \$97,250,000 outstanding at the time the process began. — The combination of window-glass manufacturers, after having shut down their works for four months in a struggle over wages with their organized employees, resolved, October 18, to abandon the struggle and give up the attempt to control either prices or wages by joint action.

NECROLOGY. — July 7, Samuel Blatchford, Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court; September 7, Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State under President Grant.

II. FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

EUROPEAN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS — No incident of an especially striking character has appeared in this field. Probably of most real importance have been the further steps in the **adjustment of commercial relations**. Spain reached agreements in the middle of August with both Germany and Italy, though the treaties yet lack legislative sanction. Meanwhile, the last *modus vivendi* having expired June 30, her commerce with Germany has been on the basis of special arrangements of a provisional character. Russia concluded a treaty with France for mutual favors in the latter part of June, and opened negotiations with Austria-Hungary in the middle of August. The Russo-German negotiations, which have now been going on for over two years, were not near enough to a conclusion to prevent the outbreak in August of an obstinate tariff war between the two empires. At that time the state of the negotiations was substantially this: Russia had demanded reductions in rates on many of her imports into Germany, especially on grain. Germany's counter-demands had been to some extent conceded, and Russia asked in July for further negotiations by commissioners at Berlin, and meanwhile for a *modus vivendi* till the end of

the year on the basis of existing conventional tariffs on both sides. The former request was conceded and the latter refused by Germany. Thereupon Russia announced the steps described below (p. 793). On August 1 her maximum tariff went into operation, and on the same day a German ordinance imposed an addition of fifty per cent to the regular rates on Russian goods. This was met immediately by an increase of fifty per cent on German imports into Russia. Shortly afterwards Finland, which was excluded from the increased rates by both sides, was brought into the fight. The war was still in full course when on the 2d of October the commissioners met at Berlin to proceed with the negotiations. No result of this work has been announced. — The antipathy between **the French and the Italian populace** was illustrated by the incidents of an affair at Aigues-Mortes, on the French shore of the Mediterranean, August 15 and 16. A dispute between French and Italian laborers developed into a prolonged battle, in which some fifty lives were lost and over a hundred persons were wounded. The Italians were by far the greatest sufferers. After the massacre had been stopped by the military, the mayor of the commune issued a proclamation congratulating the French on their victory. At the same time in many towns of Italy violent demonstrations were made against French officials and residents, and in Rome troops were necessary to protect the French embassy. The two governments adjusted matters diplomatically, however, by suitable expressions of regret for the disturbances, and the responsible officers on each side, including the bellicose mayor of Aigues-Mortes, were suspended from office. — The autumn months have abounded in incidents which have been construed as illustrating the relations of **the Triple Alliance and its foes**. The visit of a Russian fleet to Toulon in the middle of October and the extravagant hospitality, both official and unofficial, accorded to its officers and sailors by the French were supposed to have a special reference to the fact that the German Emperor held the fall manœuvres of his army in Alsace-Lorraine and himself visited Metz and Strasburg, and, moreover, was accompanied there by the Italian crown prince. French press enthusiasm over their counter-demonstration experienced a perceptible shock at the discovery that on the 20th of October, in the very midst of the festivities, the Count of Paris visited Copenhagen and dined there with the Czar, who was at that time the Danish King's guest. At about the same time a part of the British Mediterranean squadron made an official call at Taranto, where the Italians gave it a warm welcome. This incident was construed by the German and Italian press as a demonstration of English sympathy with the Triple Alliance, and a delicate intimation that the appearance of Russia as a Mediterranean naval power in cordial relations with France was duly noted and appreciated in London. At the termination of the Russian fleet's visit to France the Czar, in a despatch thanking President Carnot for the reception given to the sailors, declared that the feeling displayed would "add a new bond to those already uniting the two nations" — an

expression which many interpreted as an acknowledgment of a formal alliance between the two governments. — On May 22, an agreement to restrict for the year 1893 sealing in the North Pacific was entered upon by Great Britain and Russia. The convention ran closely on the lines of the *modus vivendi* between Great Britain and the United States as to Behring Sea (*cf.* this QUARTERLY, VI, 763). — **An International Socialist Congress** met at Zürich, Switzerland, August 6, and remained in session till the 12th. Eighteen different nations were represented by about 400 delegates, of whom 92 were from Germany, 65 from England and 38 from France. After a stormy debate as to whether Anarchists were entitled to sit as delegates, it was resolved that only those should be admitted who approved the promotion of their ends through the exercise of political rights and the machinery of legislation. A proposition recommending, in case of war, a general strike and refusal to do military service was voted down, and instead it was resolved that every effort should be made to spread socialistic ideas among the soldiers. The eight-hour day was approved, and it was declared the duty of every workingman to devote the first of May in each year to agitation for this end. Other resolutions called for better protection and better pay for women-workers, prohibition of night labor, *etc.* The resolution on "tactics" called for the organization of laborers everywhere for the war against the exploiting capitalists, and the employment of political rights for getting possession of political power, while the detailed methods of pursuing these ends should be adapted to the varying circumstances of different lands, always provided that no compromise should be recognized which looked to anything less than a complete social, economic and political revolution.

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND. — The topic of all-absorbing political interest in this kingdom has been the course of the **Home Rule Bill in Parliament**. Against a resolute opposition, maintained without flagging throughout the summer by means of every possible form of parliamentary tactics, Mr. Gladstone succeeded in securing the passage of the bill in the House of Commons just as the summer ended, only to see it thrown out by the Lords a week later. The important points in the **chronology** of the great struggle are as follows: First sitting of the committee of the whole, May 8; after twenty-eight sittings devoted to four clauses (out of the forty clauses and seven schedules of the bill), the government carries an order fixing the times at which votes shall be taken on the remaining clauses, June 30; final votes in committee under this order, July 27; final votes on the report to the House, under a special closure order, August 25; vote on the third reading, September 1; vote on the second reading in the House of Lords, September 8. The government's **majorities** in committee tended generally downward from the forty-three secured on the second reading until the normal figure became about thirty. On the clause providing for a second chamber in the legislative body a number of Radicals joined the opposition

and the government's majority was reduced to fifteen, while a Parnellite amendment making the Irish representation at Westminster the same as at present was rejected by only fourteen votes. On the third reading the vote stood 301 to 267, a majority of thirty-four. In the House of Lords the Unionists adopted the policy of making the rejection of the bill so decisive as to render ludicrous the idea of its passage by the creation of new peers and the vote stood 419 to 41. This total of 460 is the largest vote ever recorded in the Lords, the next largest, 375, having been that on the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846. The most important **modifications in the bill** made during its discussion were those in respect to the financial clauses and the Irish representation at Westminster. On the latter point Mr. Gladstone announced, July 12, that in deference to what he believed to be the prevalent opinion in the House, he had decided to move the omission of the sections which prohibited the Irish members to vote on questions not directly affecting Ireland. The eighty Irish members were thus left on the same footing as the present members at Westminster. On the financial clauses, the Nationalists succeeded in convincing Mr. Gladstone that under the original arrangement the new Irish government would be confronted at the outset with a deficit. Accordingly he announced, June 22, a new scheme, providing that for six years the existing system of administering the taxation should continue, one-third of Ireland's gross revenue going to the imperial exchequer. The Irish legislative body in the meantime should be authorized to establish new taxes, and at the end of the provisional period a permanent arrangement should be made fixing the Irish contribution and giving to the legislative body the control of all taxes save customs and excises. This new arrangement was carried, despite the opposition of the Parnellites to any prolongation of British control over Ireland's financial administration. The **parliamentary tactics** of the opposition in committee were early construed by the government as obstruction pure and simple, and from the outset the closure was freely resorted to. Even with this, however, progress was very slow and the consequence was the so-called "guillotine" order of June 30. Under the operation of this order, since the opposition persisted in its policy of critical discussion, the vote had to be taken on groups of clauses when many of them had not been debated at all. The opposition made much of the fact that a considerable proportion of the bill had thus been adopted without adequate examination. Great complaint was made on both sides as to the lack of fitness in the chairman of the committee for his task. Partly as a consequence of the general conviction on this point and partly from the tension of spirits inevitable in so prolonged and violent a struggle, the hour of the final vote in committee was signalized by a free fight among members, especially Nationalists and Conservatives, on the floor of the House—an incident said to be unprecedented in the history of the Commons. Upon the rejection of the Home Rule Bill by the upper house, the Unionists called loudly for an immediate dissolution of Parliament and appeal to the electors, but Mr. Gladstone

announced that **the government's program** would be to pass some of the measures which had gone through the first stages in the spring, before taking further steps in the home-rule matter. Accordingly, after routine business Parliament adjourned, September 22, to meet again in November, with the understanding that the Parish Councils and the Employers' Liability Bills would be considered first. Meanwhile the Liberals have tended to concentrate their attention on the position of the House of Lords as the main issue now before the country and thus to strengthen their following among the Radicals. In a public address at Edinburgh, September 27, Mr. Gladstone made a vigorous attack on the conduct of the Lords, and pointed out the danger they incurred by opposing their irresponsible will to the will of the responsible representatives of the people in the Commons. The Unionists maintain that Mr. Gladstone's majority in the last election was secured on other issues than home rule; that the smallness of the majority indicates that the real sentiment of the electors on the subject is against the measure; that a decisive expression of opinion on the single issue is essential in so important a matter; and that the Lords are, therefore, wholly within the spirit of the constitution in interposing to force a dissolution on that issue. Mr. Redmond, leader of the Parnellite faction of the Irish Nationalists, announced in October that since Mr. Gladstone refused to introduce a bill for the relief of evicted tenants, he and his followers would not support the government in its English business in the approaching session, but would abstain from attendance. Mr. Gladstone's offer to take up the matter of the evicted tenants if the opposition would agree to regard it as non-contentious, was declined by Mr. Balfour. — Parliament reassembled November 2, and proceeded immediately to the consideration of the Parish Councils Bill, on a motion for its second reading. — An extensive **strike of coal-miners** in England and Wales began July 28. The cause was a proposition by the employers for a reduction of wages, on the ground of a great fall in the price of coal. The reduction was resisted by the workmens' organization, which declined a proposition for arbitration, claiming that the existing rate was the lowest at which the miners could live. Over 300,000 men went on strike, affecting practically all the mines in Yorkshire, Lancashire and Wales, but not those in Durham and Northumberland. The diminution in the coal supply interfered very seriously with manufacturing and with the operation of the railways. Late in August the threatening movements of the strikers led to the calling out of considerable bodies of troops in Wales, and during the first half of September serious and destructive riots occurred in the English mining regions, necessitating active military interference. At Featherstone, in Yorkshire, a number of strikers were shot in a conflict with the troops, September 7. By the end of September the suffering among the strikers' families, despite the funds contributed by the Radicals and the philanthropic, became intense, and resumption of work by those who had struck only through sympathy grew common, the Miners' Federa-

tion authorizing this in case the old wages were granted. Negotiations with the mine-owners' association for a reduction were, however, still declined, though the amount of the reduction insisted upon was considerably decreased.

THE BRITISH COLONIES.—The political situation in **Canada** has been characterized by unbroken calm. The Earl of Aberdeen was appointed governor-general in May, to succeed the Earl of Derby, who retired at the death of his father. The Manitoba school question, one legal aspect of which was settled by a judgment of the British Privy Council more than a year ago (see this *RECORD* for December, 1892, p. 777), has now been brought before the Supreme Court of the Dominion on another issue. The Catholics have appealed to the Dominion cabinet for remedial action, under a clause of the British North America Act which authorizes such an appeal against an act of a provincial authority that affects "any right or privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority . . . in relation to education." The cabinet resolved, before taking definite action, to submit to the supreme court the question whether, under the circumstances of this special case, the government had a constitutional right to interfere, and this question is now before the court. Sir John Abbott, late premier of the Dominion, died October 30. — The financial crisis in **Australia** was at its height at the opening of the period under review, and the first half of May was a time of utter panic. The great banks of the colonies closed their doors in rapid succession till only three institutions of any importance remained. In Victoria, where the trouble was most acute, the government sought to stay the panic by declaring a bank holiday, May 2-6, but the action had no perceptible good effect. The worst was over by the first of June, and steps were soon taken to reorganize the defunct institutions. In most cases the assets were found sufficient to satisfy depositors eventually in full. As a result of the crisis, the legislature of New South Wales passed a law making notes issued by the banks a first charge on their capital and reserve, and authorizing the government in cases of emergency to make such notes temporarily legal tender. The confederation project has been clarified, first, by the definite refusal of New Zealand to participate in the union, and second, by the government's announcement in New South Wales that a bill to carry out the plan formulated in 1891 will be introduced during the current session of the legislature. The legislature of New Zealand, after a long struggle, has passed a law granting full political rights to women, whether of European or Maori blood. — An event of momentous importance both to the British Empire and to the civilized world in general was the inauguration of **currency reform in India**, June 26, by the order closing the mints to the free coinage of silver. The effects of the depreciation of silver have for several years been felt severely in India (*cf.* this *RECORD* for June, 1892, p. 388). In the summer of 1892 the Indian government made a definite proposal to the home government that steps should be taken toward a gold standard for India. A committee was there-

upon appointed, with Lord Herschell as chairman, to report to the London authorities upon the plan of the Indian government. The committee's report was submitted last June, endorsing the plan with some modifications, and upon the acceptance of the changes, the Indian government was authorized to publish the order which appeared on the 26th. The principal features of the plan are these: (1) The closing of the mints to free coinage of silver; (2) the retention of the power to coin silver for government account; (3) the assumption of the power by the government to declare that gold coin which is legal tender in England shall be legal tender in India at a rate of not less than $13\frac{1}{4}$ rupees for one sovereign; (4) the acceptance of gold at the mints and of sovereigns in payment of public dues at the rate, till further notice, of 16*d.* per rupee. The purpose of closing the mints to silver was declared to be, not so much to raise the gold value of the rupee, as to prevent a further fall in this value. Some perplexity in financial circles was caused during the summer by the uncertainty as to whether the rate of 16*d.* per rupee was to be regarded as absolutely the lowest which the government would recognize. In fact, Council bills were sold at a lower rate, and it was officially declared that 16*d.* was a provisional rate, adopted merely as a price which the government considered it possible, by closing the mints, to maintain. The uncertainty as to what the official rate would ultimately be had a disastrous effect on business and exchange in which India was concerned. — A serious conflict between Hindoos and Mohammedans in Bombay, beginning August 16, was only quelled when considerable bodies of troops had been brought into the city. The cause of the conflict was the perennial religious antipathy of the races, aroused in this case by Hindoo dislike of the killing of cows in the Mohammedan rites. The affair at Bombay was only an unusually conspicuous instance of manifestations that are very common in the rural districts, and that result from the activity of a widespread Hindoo society for the protection of cows. — Sir Henry Norman was appointed in September to succeed Lord Lansdowne as viceroy of India at the expiration of the latter's term with the current year. After accepting, the new appointee withdrew his acceptance, and in October the Earl of Elgin was appointed to the position.

FRANCE. — The later phases of the **Panama scandal** proved as insignificant as the earlier were portentous. On the 15th of June the Court of Cassation quashed the sentences of those who had been convicted of fraud in the management of the company, on the ground that the statute of limitations applied, and the prisoners were released. Of the three convicted of bribery and corruption, two have been set free. The report of the investigating committee appointed by the Chamber was not made public till the middle of June. In the evidence presented was revealed ample proof of the devious methods employed to sustain the bankrupt enterprise, but the committee's conclusions, exculpating the deputies, threw all responsibility for the affair on the directors of the company and the

press. — A Paris newspaper's attempt to raise a new scandal by means of documents alleged to have been stolen from the British embassy, showing large money payments by the British government to leading Radical politicians, was taken up by certain Revisionist deputies in the Chamber, June 22, but was quickly thwarted by proof that the documents were forgeries. — The attention of the Chambers, which continued in session till July 21, was taken up with the budget and other routine business. In view of the dissolution, a resolution was adopted to the effect that bills that had passed the Chamber prior to a dissolution might be sent to the Senate by the new Chamber on the desire of forty members. — During July the Dupuy ministry was able, in connection with two important incidents, to create an impression of greater strength than had hitherto been ascribed to it. The first of these was the **students' and laborers' riots** in Paris. Owing to the interference of the police with a students' procession, disorder arose in the Latin Quarter on the 1st of July, and for several nights conflicts between the students and the police were frequent and serious. Gradually the turbulent element from other quarters joined in the fighting and the students, perceiving this, withdrew. Discontented workmen and socialist agitators sought to propagate the disturbance for ulterior ends, and the night fighting became more desperate. Troops were hurried into Paris from the suburbs and stationed in the disaffected regions, and with their support the police succeeded after a week in restoring order. In the very midst of the trouble the government took the offensive by closing up the labor exchange, a workingmen's headquarters. In the attacks on the government's policy by the Socialists in the Chamber, the ministry was sustained by large votes. When the rioting was over, the ministry withdrew from the extreme positions it had taken, conceded the demand of the students for the dismissal of the prefect of police and permitted the labor exchange to reopen. This action was attributed to considerations based on the approach of the elections. — The second occasion for a show of strength was in the **acquisition of territory from Siam**. Conflicting claims as to a strip on the borders of the French dependency of Anam caused collisions in the early summer between French and Siamese frontier troops on the Mekong River. On the 13th of July two French gunboats, when making their way to the Siamese capital, Bangkok, were fired upon by the forts that defended the city, but after a brief combat proceeded to their destination. This affair resulted from the failure of the ships' commanders to receive dispatches countermanding the orders to proceed to Bangkok. The French foreign minister, M. Develle, nevertheless held that the Siamese were at fault in the attack, and on the 20th sent an ultimatum to Siam demanding immediate recognition of the French territorial claims on the left bank of the Mekong, full satisfaction for the attack on the gunboats and an indemnity for the victims of this and other collisions between the forces of the two powers. Siam's reply, on the 22d, conceded the demands, but with such a construc-

tion of an indefinite expression in the ultimatum as to cede only about half the territory that France expected. Considering the answer unsatisfactory, M. Develle directed the minister at Bangkok to leave the city, and on the 25th diplomatic relations were suspended. A large naval force that had assembled on the coast prepared to enforce a blockade, of which notification was given. It is understood that Great Britain, which had previously refused applications of Siam for support, now protested earnestly against a blockade without a declaration of war, and declined to recognize it as to her own vessels, in which nine-tenths of Siam's trade is carried on. Tension on this point was averted, however, by the complete surrender on the part of Siam, whose government on the 28th acceded without reservation to the terms of the ultimatum, and later to slight additional demands that were made. The resumption of diplomatic relations at Bangkok shortly afterwards terminated the incident. The net result was an important increase of French territory, and the recognition of the Mekong as the boundary between French Anam and Siam, from the frontier of Cambodia northward to a point to be settled by negotiation with the British government, whose Burmese interests are here involved. The territorial gain was hailed with much enthusiasm by all parties in France, and the popularity of the ministry increased correspondingly. — **The elections** were held August 20, with second ballotings September 3. The pope took occasion just before the voting once more to impress upon his spiritual flock the importance of abandoning the Royalist cause. His efforts probably contributed to one of the most striking features of the result—the great losses of the old Monarchic party. Including the Bonapartists, this group can number not more than 60 votes. The Rallied (Catholic Republicans) number about 30. Less than a half-dozen of the Boulangist faction (Revisionists) were elected, and they are merged practically in the Radical-Socialist group. This party numbers something less than 200. The government Republicans number about 290. As between the extreme Right and the extreme Left in combination against the government, it seems probable that the Rallied will hold the balance of power. Among the conspicuous former members who failed of reëlection were Floquet and Clémenceau, of the Radicals, Déroulède and Millevoye, Revisionists, Cassagnac, Bonapartist, and the Comte de Mun, leader of the Rallied. The defeat of Clémenceau excited the greatest interest. He will be succeeded as Radical leader by M. Goblet. — Died: October 17, Ex-President Marshal MacMahon; November 4, Pierre Emanuel Tirard, formerly prime minister.

GERMANY.—**The struggle over the Army Bill**, which was at its height in the Reichstag at the opening of this RECORD, resulted in the rejection of the bill, May 6, by a vote of 210 to 162. Chancellor von Caprivi immediately announced the dissolution of the Reichstag, and new elections were set for June 15. The conflict in the house had proved very demoralizing to several of the party factions, and the failure of the bill was speedily followed by disintegration of the Radicals and the Centrists. In

each of these groups an influential element had favored a compromise measure which the government had indicated a willingness to accept, but the leaders insisted on opposing and rejecting the bill. As a result, nearly half of the Radicals and a smaller proportion of the Centrists withdrew from the respective parties. The line of cleavage in the Radicals was practically that between the groups which united to form Richter's party in 1884 ; in the Center the secessionists were chiefly of the conservative element, which has for some time been discontented with the democratic tendencies of the leader, Dr. Lieber. These party dissensions, together with the uncertainty as to the importance of the Anti-Semitic and Agrarian influence among the Conservatives, made the electoral campaign extraordinarily complex. Second ballotings, which took place June 24, had to be held in 178 of the 397 districts, and the fate of the government's bill could not be clearly foreseen till the last returns were in. It then appeared that a small majority could be expected for the measure. The most striking features of the result were great gains by the Social Democrats and the Anti-Semites, considerable losses by the Centrists, and the reduction of the Radicals to insignificance. The following gives for the new Reichstag the strength of the leading groups, including the members temporarily attached (*Hospitanten*), with the gain or loss as compared with the situation before the dissolution : Conservatives 68, loss 2 ; Imperialists 27, gain 9 ; National Liberals 52, gain 10 ; Centrists 99, loss 10 ; Social Democrats 43, gain 7 ; Richter Radicals 22, Radical Unionists 13, the total for the two divisions showing a loss of 32 as compared with the old Radical group ; Anti-Semites 16, gain 11. In round numbers the Social Democrats polled 1,700,000 votes, a gain of 350,000 over 1890, and the Anti-Semites 260,000 votes, a gain of 200,000 over 1890. The agitator Ahlwardt was elected in two constituencies. — The new Reichstag met July 4, and the chancellor shortly after introduced the Army Bill in the compromise form known as the Huene Bill. This proposed an increase of force somewhat less in extent than that in the original bill, and embodied other modifications tending to conciliate the Radicals. On the 15th a vote was reached and the bill was passed by 211 to 185, the Conservatives, National Liberals, Radical Unionists, most of the Poles and a few Centrists supporting, while the bulk of the Centrists, the Richter Radicals and the Social Democrats opposed the measure. The Reichstag was then prorogued, with the understanding that the financial bills necessary to carry out the military reforms would be introduced in the fall. Chancellor von Caprivi officially declared, just before the close of the debate on the Army Bill, that the government had no intention of proposing additional taxes on beer, brandy, or food. Since the 8th of August, when the finance ministers of all the states in the empire met in conference at Frankfurt, work has been incessant on the revenue bills that are to be brought in. Dr. Miquel, the Prussian minister, has taken the lead in the business. It is understood that the scheme finally agreed upon

at the end of October involves new imposts on wine and tobacco, with an increase of that on bourse transactions. — The lower house of the **Prussian Landtag** accepted, July 3, the amendments made by the upper house in the last of the long-debated tax-reform bills, and the new system passed into law. The Landtag was prorogued July 5. The term of the lower house having expired, elections were appointed for the first week of November. — A very widespread interest was excited in September by the prospect of a reconciliation between **Bismarck and the Emperor**. The prince having passed through a serious attack of illness at Kissingen early in September, the emperor, on the 19th, sent him a cordial message of congratulation on his convalescence, and offered him the use of one of the royal castles for the winter, that he might avoid the unfavorable climate of Friedrichsruh. Bismarck returned his thanks, but declined the offer on the ground that his accustomed surroundings would, in the opinion of both himself and his physician, be the most likely means of promoting his recovery. With this exchange of despatches the incident closed, to the general regret of the German press and public. — The death of Duke Ernest of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, August 23, brought to the throne as his successor his nephew, the Duke of Edinburgh, Queen Victoria's second son.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY. — The *Culturkampf* in Hungary has continued to occupy public attention throughout the period under review, though the bills embodying the government's policy have not yet been formally considered in the parliament. The bill for establishing freedom of worship for all religious denominations was introduced in the lower house May 17. At the same time the upper house took advantage of the budget debate to vote formal disapproval of the government's policy. The hostility of the Catholic clergy to the proposed measures was manifested in many sporadic outbursts, but the pope's encyclical to the Hungarian bishops at the end of August was unexpectedly mild in tone, and counseled reliance on the king rather than active interference in politics as the true line of deliverance. On September 30, shortly after the opening of the fall session of the parliament, Minister President Wekerle announced that the government's civil marriage bill had been submitted to the crown, whose approval it was hoped would, after the proper examination, be secured. A vigorous attempt of the Apponyi Nationalists to overthrow the ministry was defeated by a good majority, October 10. — The assembling of the Reichsrath, October 10, was followed shortly by the **fall of the Taaffe ministry**. At the outset the government produced a great sensation by the introduction of a bill for the extension of the suffrage. This measure had been prepared by the government without the usual consultation of the party leaders. It gave the franchise to all men who could read and write, and to illiterates who paid any direct taxes or who had performed their military service with special credit. Under the terms of the project the electors would be 44 per cent of the male population instead of 15 per cent as before.

It was supposed that the government's proposition was influenced more or less by a very energetic agitation for universal suffrage that the Socialists carried on during the summer in the Austrian cities. The bill called forth bitter opposition in the Reichsrath, the German-Liberal group considering that its aim was to weaken their representation and increase that of the radical groups in sympathy with the Young Czechs. Count Taaffe was obliged within two weeks to give up hopes of getting a majority for the measure. A vigorous attack on his policy in employing martial law at Prague also weakened his position. The German-Liberal, Polish and Conservative groups formed a coalition for general opposition, and on October 30, Count Taaffe resigned. Prince Windischgrätz was called upon to form a ministry representing the coalition. By November 5 he had apparently succeeded, though it was freely predicted that the ill-assorted cabinet was destined to a short and troubled existence. — An outbreak of unusually **violent demonstrations at Prague** by the Young Czechs was followed by an ordinance, September 13, suspending till further notice the rights of association and reunion, the freedom of speech and of the press, and jury trial in connection with a number of specified crimes. Vigorous action was then taken by the authorities, by suppressing papers, dissolving societies and making domiciliary visits, to put an end to the agitation. — The resumption of gold payments which the government had hoped to effect by November 1, was postponed with the hope that it might take place by the beginning of the new year.

ITALY. — A slight **cabinet crisis** was precipitated, May 19, by the rejection of the budget on the final vote in the Chamber. The adverse vote, 138 to 133, was quite unexpected and was attributed to the dissatisfaction of a number of deputies with the minister of justice. After a reorganization of the ministry, excluding this member and one other, Signor Giolitti secured an overwhelming vote of confidence, May 26, on a declaration that he would stand by his old program. The new members strengthened the cabinet with the Senate and facilitated the passage of the Pension Bill which was in some doubt before. The most important legislation completed was the **reorganization of the banks of issue**. This measure, after long discussion, was passed by large majorities in the Chamber of Deputies July 8, and in the Senate August 9. The law consolidates the joint-stock banks into a single institution, the *Banca d'Italia*, on which, together with the banks of Naples and Sicily, the right of issuing notes is conferred for twenty years. It is then provided that the present circulation shall be contracted, the metallic reserve increased, and the fixed assets be gradually converted into more quickly available form. Limits are set to the circulation and the reserves, and provisions in great detail are made for governmental supervision. The law also provides for the liquidation of the *Banca Romana*, whose failure was the cause of the scandal mentioned in the last RECORD. The criminal proceedings against those concerned in the latter affair have not yet been concluded. — In a

speech at Dronero, October 18, Premier Giolitti dwelt especially on Italy's financial difficulties, and announced as his program, generally economy, together with progressive income and inheritance taxes and the requirement that import duties be paid in coin.—A very serious dearth of small change in Italy led the government to apply to the Latin Coinage Union for the withdrawal of her lesser coins from the terms of the Union. At a meeting of the representatives of the different governments concerned at Paris, in the middle of October, the desired steps were taken. The other governments agreed to withdraw from circulation and on demand return to Italy her share of the small coins of the Union, on condition that she should pay for them in gold and then issue for her own use a paper currency corresponding in amount to the sums withdrawn.

SPAIN. — **Señor Sagasta's government** has had by no means an easy pathway during the last six months. In parliament it had to deal, in the middle of May, with a policy of obstruction by the Republican deputies that was quite unprecedented in Spain, though familiar elsewhere. A bill to postpone certain municipal elections, on the ground that the Republicans had made preparations which included great frauds in registration, was so stoutly opposed by filibustering tactics, that a continuous session of fifty-four hours, with some sharp practice at the end, was necessary to secure the final vote. In the budget debates, also, the government's progress was so slow that the project was not adopted till about the first of August—a month after it should have gone into effect. The fiscal scheme of the government involved very considerable economies in most of the executive departments, and at the same time a number of new taxes. A contribution to the means of avoiding the perennial deficit was made by the queen-regent through the voluntary sacrifice of a million pesetas of her civil list. The enforcement of the new taxes was not well received by the people, and during August and September many disturbances were reported from the different provinces, in which resistance to the tax-collectors was a leading feature. At San Sebastian, the royal summer residence, a mob that proclaimed its purpose to slay Sagasta and then the king was only subdued by the military after many lives were lost. Republican and socialistic influences were obviously at work to a greater or less extent in all these disorders.—The activity of the **Anarchists** has manifested itself in a number of startling incidents. On the night of June 20 a dynamite bomb was exploded at the residence of the Conservative leader, Canovas del Castillo, and the perpetrators of the outrage were discovered to be members of a band of Anarchists. Even more sensational was the throwing of two bombs at General Martinez de Campos while he was reviewing the troops at Barcelona, September 23. The general's horse was killed and he himself slightly wounded, while a soldier was killed and several soldiers and staff officers severely wounded. A bomb factory in Barcelona was discovered by the police in investigating this affair.

RUSSIA.—A double-tariff system was announced June 25, to go into effect August 1. The existing duties constituted the minimum rates, while the maximum schedule was constructed by the addition of thirty and twenty per cent respectively to the duties on specified commodities. The reason for adopting the new system was declared to be the desire to counterbalance the disadvantage to which Russian agricultural export products were put by the differential rates adopted by the western states of Europe. The finance minister, in conjunction with the minister of foreign affairs, was authorized by imperial decree of July 30 to parallel by ordinance any increase in duties on Russian products by a foreign government. Thus the foundation was laid for the tariff war with Germany.—The Czar officiated in August at the laying of the cornerstone of a great naval harbor at Libau, where the Baltic fleet will be released from the ice blockade much earlier in the spring than has hitherto been the case.

MINOR EUROPEAN STATES.—The work of the Chambers in the revision of the Belgian constitution was completed September 2, and on the 9th the new articles went into force. The only serious difficulty that arose during the summer discussions was in reference to the constitution of the Senate and the qualifications of Senators. When it had been agreed that the Senate should consist of 75 members chosen by the electors of the Deputies, and 26 chosen by the provincial councils, the two houses came to a deadlock in the middle of August on the question of eligibility. A ministerial crisis was imminent and the whole work of revision was threatened with failure, when at last, on the 31st, the necessary two-thirds vote of the Chamber was secured for a project involving some slight concession to the more democratic spirit. According to this, the Senators chosen by the electors at large must be forty years of age and must either pay 1200 fr. direct taxes or have an income from real estate of 12,000 fr. (provided the number thus qualified equals one to every 5000 inhabitants); those chosen by the provincial councils are free from all such conditions.—**The Norwegian Radicals** did not persist in their resolution to abstain from legislative activity in consequence of the appointment of a Conservative ministry, as noted in the last RECORD. M. Stang organized a cabinet and proceeded with the administration and the Storting resumed its sittings. The session, which lasted till July 22, was characterized by a series of decisive measures in the line of the Radicals' aims. A bill was passed directing the removal of the union symbol from the Norwegian merchant flag; a resolution was adopted notifying Sweden that the common consular service would be terminated January 1, 1895; and, as a response to supposed threats of Sweden, the purchase of arms for certain private military companies was authorized. None of these measures received the royal assent, the prime minister frankly assuring the Storting that the ministers had advised the veto. In the budget the Radical majority manifested their feeling rather more effectively by cutting down the king's civil list by nearly a third, reducing diplomatic appropriations, and making

the consular appropriation conditional on the notification to Sweden of the termination of the common service. The ministry resolved to regard the condition as vitiating the consular grant and so to act as if the appropriation had not been made ; but the king accepted the reduction of the civil list. — The elections in **Servia**, following the King's *coup d'état*, resulted in the return to the Skupschtina of 122 Radicals out of 134 members. At the opening of the session, June 16, King Alexander took the royal oath with due ceremony, and in his address from the throne justified his *coup d'état* by a denunciation of the Liberal government which he overthrew. The Radicals, being practically unopposed in the legislature, voted the impeachment of the members of the preceding (Avakumovitch) ministry on various charges of malfeasance, August 16, and a special tribunal of state councilors and judges of appeal was constituted for the trial. The Skupschtina adjourned August 21. In the latter part of October the king rather theatrically proclaimed his reconciliation with the Liberal Party, and announced his conviction that the bad government of the past was due rather to the regents than to the Liberal ministry. About the same time Premier Dokitch resigned on the plea of ill-health. — The amendment of the constitution in **Bulgaria** was completed by the Great Sobranje, which met May 15 and promptly ratified the work of the legislature as described in the last RECORD. The elections for the legislature under the new system were held July 30 and resulted in the return of government supporters in all but nine districts. The new Sobranje assembled October 27. — The hard conditions which had to be complied with in floating a loan in London led to a **ministerial crisis in Greece** in May, in consequence of which Tricoupis was succeeded as premier by Sotiropoulos, with colleagues drawn mostly from the "third party" which stands apart from those led respectively by Tricoupis and Delyannis.

AFRICA. — Conflicts between the European powers and the natives have been numerous during the period under review. Great Britain has had trouble in both Uganda and Zambesia. Her newly-arrived commissioner in the former land effected an adjustment between the Catholic and the Protestant factions in April, by which territorial rights were assigned to each, and the chief political offices were equally divided between them. Then followed in June an uprising of the Mohammedan faction, who were, however, promptly suppressed by the authorities, supported by the united Christian population. More serious was the situation developed in **Mashonaland**, in the territory of the South African Company. The Matabele, a warlike Zulu tribe a little south of the Zambesi, while raiding the peaceful natives near the company's forts in July, were driven off by a detachment of the company's police. For this and other reasons the king, Lobengula, who had been friendly to the British, assumed a hostile attitude, and his soldiers engaged in skirmishing on the frontier. In October, accordingly, the company prepared a strong force, which, with the approval of the home government, entered the Matabele country,

and after some fighting had by November 1 driven the king out of his stronghold, Buluwayo. — In **Dahomey** King Behanzin failed to fulfill his promise to surrender to the French, and General Dodds, after a trip to France, resumed in August his operations against the remnants of the king's forces. — In **Morocco** the building of new fortifications by the Spanish at their penal colony, Mellila, on the northern coast, was the occasion for a desperate attempt of the neighboring Moorish tribes, October 2, to destroy the works and the garrison. The attack was repulsed, but the Moors besieged the citadel held by the Spanish, and Spain, having reinforced the place, proceeded to organize a strong land and naval expedition that should thoroughly subdue the troublesome tribesmen. At the same time a demand was made upon the Sultan of Morocco for satisfaction, though the Sultan's authority over these particular tribes has never been very effective. It was reported that Spain had further demanded the payment of the expenses of her expedition — a demand which would open the way to a conquest of the whole Moorish dominion.

LATIN AMERICA. — Discontent with the administration of President Peixoto has resulted in **civil war in Brazil**. The long-standing insurrection in the state of Rio Grande do Sul gave the government much trouble in the spring and early summer, and the obnoxious governor, Castilhos, against whom the efforts of the malcontents were directed, was at last, in August, forced to resign. In the neighboring state of Santa Catharina, also, a successful popular uprising took place against the officials installed through the influence of the central government. Meanwhile, at Rio Janeiro itself, evidences appeared of opposition to the president. About the first of May, Admiral Wandolkolk of the navy sailed from the capital, and joined the insurgents in Rio Grande do Sul. He was followed and captured, however, by war-ships that remained faithful to Peixoto. On the 6th of September a more formidable defection occurred. Officers of the naval squadron in the harbor of Rio Janeiro, headed by Admiral Mello, formerly minister of marine, declared against Peixoto, and called for his retirement under threat of bombarding the city. As the army remained faithful, the president held his position. Mello carried out his threat, and on the 11th opened fire on the fortifications and public buildings of Rio Janeiro, but failed to gain any important advantage. Since then more or less fighting has been done along the shore, but as Peixoto has no adequate naval force and Mello has little support on land, a decisive conflict has been impossible. In October Mello, having established relations with the insurgents in the southern states was said to have set up a provisional government at Desterro, in Santa Catharina. Peixoto at the same time began the preparation of a naval force by purchasing and equipping a number of cruisers and torpedo boats in New York. — The high personal character of President Saenz Peña, from whom so much was expected, has not prevented a serious Radical **insurrection in Argentina**. The president's pacific dispo-

sition contributed to make his government the plaything of more energetic politicians. A reconstruction of his cabinet, June 8, on the idea of "fusion" of the leading parties, proved wholly unsuccessful, and a month later he was forced to a new reconstruction, with the introduction of a considerable Radical element. The Radicals are an offshoot from the Union Civica (known also, from its leader, as the Mitrist party), which effected the overthrow of President Celman in 1890 (see this *QUARTERLY*, V, 747). They claim that the revolution then was incomplete and that the influence of the party to which Celman belonged, the Union National (or Roquists) is still too strong in the administration. At the end of July the adherents of the Radical party, apparently with the connivance of ministers, rose against the Roquist state governments in a number of the states of the confederation, and gained considerable successes in several. Intervention by the federal authorities was authorized by the Congress, but it was executed rather in a spirit of sympathy with the insurgents. A new ministerial crisis then ensued, August 14, the Radical element was excluded from the cabinet, and the intervention was carried out in earnest. Thereupon the Radicals planned a general movement for the overthrow of the federal government, but by the prompt proclamation of martial law and corresponding energy in dealing with outbreaks in Buenos Ayres and elsewhere, the authorities were able to preserve their power.—In Central America a **revolution in Nicaragua**, which for thirty years had been free from civil war, broke out April 29. The object was the deposition of President Sacaza. A pitched battle on May 20 resulted in a decisive defeat of the government's troops, and on June 1, under an arrangement effected through the efforts of the United States minister, Sacaza turned over his office to a member of the Senate, Machado. On July 12, however, a fresh revolution broke out against the new government. The president was seized and held by the insurgents, and his place was taken provisionally by Zavalla, who had been the leading spirit in the original uprising. A succession of hard fights were attended by the steady triumph of the new insurgents, and at the end of July peace was made on condition of Zavalla's relinquishment of power. Shortly afterward General Zelayo, leader of the successful party, became president. The insurrection in Honduras, which was in successful progress at the beginning of this *RECORD*, was crushed by a government victory in the middle of May.

WM. A. DUNNING.